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I.—ON SOME ALLEGED INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES IN CUNEIFORM CHARACTER.

To the north of the great Iranian region, in the Russian steppes about the Black and Caspian seas, there roamed in antiquity Iranian tribes, known as Scythians. The Greeks used this name with convenient vagueness for all sorts of northern barbarians; for the wide region indicated surely contained peoples of more than one ethnic character, especially offshoots from the Thraco-Phrygian region to the south. Karl Müllenhoff, in the third volume of his *Deutsche Alterthumskunde*, pp. 101 ff.¹, has collected the Scythian remnants of speech from Herodotus and other ancient authors; also from the Greek inscriptions at Olbia which date from the first and second centuries A. D. Though they are mostly proper names there is no difficulty in recognizing their Iranian character, or a character closely allied to Iranian.² Herodotus (IV 67) explains the Scythian tribal name 'Ενάρεες by ἀνδρόγυννοι; Hippocrates (*De aëre*, § 106) by ἀνανδρίεις 'unmanly', a good etymological reproduction of the original compound made up of Aryan *a* privative and stem *nar*, *nara* 'man'. Names like 'Ορόντης, from a stem equal to Avestan *aurvant* 'swift' (Vedic *arvant* 'steed'); 'Αρμασποί, composed of stems akin to Avestan *airyama* and *aspa*, 'having tractable horses'; Βαυδάσπος, corre-

¹ Edited after his death by Max Roediger, Berlin, 1892.

² Penka, *Mittheilungen der Wiener Anthropologischen Gesellschaft*, 1893, p. 62, has suggested that the Scythians form the transition between Aryans and Slavs, a theory likely enough on geographical grounds.

sponding to an Iranian compound *vanaŋ-aspa* 'winning horses'—the Scythians were a people of horsemen—are quite unmistakable. Similarly *οὐαρδάνης*, identical with Vardanes, mentioned by Tacitus, *Annales* XI 8 ff., as a Parthian, is closely akin to Avestan *vareḍa* 'growing' (Skt. root *vardh*); *Χόδανος* is Av. *hu-dāena* 'religious'; *Χορόαθος*=Av. *hu-raoḍa* 'of good figure'; and *Χώδαρξος*=Av. *hvā-derezi* 'strong of one's self'. A river name *Βορυσθένης*, though much affected by Greek popular etymology, is Av. *vouru-stāna* 'having a broad base or bed'. Herodotus I 110 reports as Median the word *σπάκα* 'dog',¹ equal to an Iranian stem *span*=Skt. *śvan* with suffix *ka*: this has been borrowed into Russian *sobaka*, marking at one and the same time the geographical continuity of the Scyths-Iranians and Slavs, as well as their marked linguistic individuality; purely Slavic laws of sound could never have developed a *b* in this word.

Thus the Scyths are Indo-Europeans who connect the Asiatic East Indo-Europeans (Aryans) with the Slavs in the North of Europe, and, through them, with the remaining North-Europeans, the Teutonic and Celtic families. In this great belt there are no problematic Indo-European peoples. With all the intricacies of ethnic and geographic interrelation between Celts and Teutons, and Teutons and Slavs, there is in the north of Europe no Indo-European dialect whose broader family traits are obscure, and no claimant for membership in the Indo-European family that is not freely admitted. Beginning where France joins Italy in the ancient region of Liguria; stretching from there and adjoining Etruria across Venetia to Illyria, Thrace, and the rest of the Balkan peninsula; from there again, across Hellespont, Propontis, and Bosphorus, into and clear through Asia Minor, including Armenia, until we touch again the Asiatic Iranians—that is the region within which existing records of some sort point to the presence of varieties of Indo-Europeans outside of the well-known families.

That is to say, the region adjacent to the northeastern Mediterranean, which came most directly under the influence of Greece and Rome. But for the jingoism of the Ancients, which made them look upon others than themselves as Barbarians, and their all-round ineptitude as linguists, we might have had real records of all these peoples, instead of having, e. g., to rely in the main

¹ Cf. Hesychius' gloss, *παγαίη* κύων σκυθιστί*.

upon the scant Neo-Phrygian Pigeon-Greek epitaphs for our knowledge of the great Thraco-Phrygian family of languages. The Greeks regarded the *Φρύγες* somewhat as we do the Dagos, and their knowledge of them was about as exact. In the majority of cases we have not even as much as there is of Phrygian: scant glosses, and proper names, distracted by the unfeeling popular etymologies of foreign reporters, furnish filmy composite photographs where there might have been clear pictures. Nevertheless it is significant that the regions of which the ancients knew most, have up to the present time furnished the minor Indo-European peoples: we should not need to be surprised if new records springing from this massive geographical domain should at any time disclose further candidates for independent membership in our family of languages.

In fact, recently, three candidates for Indo-European sisterhood have put in their appearance in a very unexpected quarter, namely: the Cuneiform records of Western Asia.

The first is the language of the Kassî, the Kossaeans (*Κοσσαῖοι*) or Kissians (*Κίσσιοι*) of the Greeks, long ago the subject of a well-known little book of Friedrich Delitzsch, *Die Sprache der Kossäer* (Leipzig, 1884). The home of the Kossaeans was in the valleys of the Zagros mountains in Elam, between Media and Assyria. They seem to have been skilled bowmen who originally lived on war and robbery in their native mountains. But in addition they preyed early on the inhabitants of the Babylonian plain, and finally made more permanent inroads into Assyria and Babylonia, so that they could assume the part of conquerors and impose their rule upon Babylonia. A Kossaeon dynasty or dynasties appear to have ruled that country for nearly 600 years, from 1700-1100 B. C.¹; at the time of the Tel-el-Amarna letters, the Babylonians were designated in Canaan as Kassî. But, somewhat like the Varangian Norsemen in Russia, they finally were absorbed in the superior Semitic culture around them. Scant record of their language is preserved in the proper names of the Kossaeon dynasty, and in a curious Kossaeo-Babylonian glossary of about the tenth century B. C. This is the kernel of Delitzsch's treatise: neither Delitzsch nor his successors have succeeded in making clear the character and the relationships of the 40 words

¹ According to Sayce, *A Primer of Assyriology*, pp. 14, 120, the Kossaeon dynasty lasted 576 years and 9 months, from 1806-1229 B. C.

or thereabouts on record: the limited amount of the material may be said, at least negatively, not to disprove the most natural suggestion that occurs in connection with it, namely that it is a dialect of Elamitic.¹

Now comes an attempt, fascinating, to say the least, on the part of a younger scholar, J. Scheftelowitz, to show that the Kossaeen language is Indo-European. In KZ. XXXVIII 260 ff. he establishes to his own satisfaction I. E. etymologies for practically all Kossaeen words on record. The resulting dialect would have to be, as I gather, a *satem*-language, because *šukamuna*, an epithet of Nergal, a Babylonian god of the mid-day sun, is identified with Vedic *śucamāna* 'shining'; *šir* 'bow' with Vedic *śaru* arrow, etc. Also because *nazi*, 'shadow', assumed to be identical with Vedic *rajas*, in which *z* is supposed to continue labio-velar *g* (*g^u*) = Skt. *j*, shows no labialization, and may be contrasted with Gr. *ἔρεβος*, Goth. *riqis* 'twilight'. Secondly, it would have to be an Asiatic language, like Sanskrit, Iranian, and Scythian, and not a European language, like Armenian and all the rest, because it eschews the European triad of vowels *e, o, a*, exhibiting *a* in the place of European *e* and *o*: *šuriaš* = Skt. *sūryas* = Gr. *ἥλιος*; *nazi* = *ἔρεβος*. Thirdly, it cannot be an ordinary Iranian language, because initial *s* changes not to *h*: *šuriaš* = Vedic *sūryas* 'sun' but cf. Avestan *hware*; *šuvalia* or *šivalia*, name of a goddess = Vedic *sūvari* 'giving birth'. Fourthly, it is a language closely allied to the Vedic dialect, because the majority of the etymologies are founded upon words of that dialect.

We may as well realize at once that this geographical discontinuity of the language is an obstacle of the most serious kind, and to my mind at least, makes the theory in that form antecedently improbable. The home of the Vedic dialect is in longitude 70°; the Zagros mountains are in longitude 45°.

It is unfortunate that the Kossaeen materials do not contain numerals, personal pronouns, or nouns of relationship, the best lexical criteria; nor can we apply the more delicate tests of morphology, because the glossary is amorphous. With one exception that does not advance the cause: there are, according to Scheftelowitz, numerous nouns of the second declension. Part of them, from Scheftelowitz's point of view, are given in the nomina-

¹ See Hüsing, Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, X, 1898, p. 313 ff.

tive: *šuriaš* 'god of the Sun', *bugaš* 'god Bhaga', *buriaš* 'lord', and 'god Rāmān', *viriaš* 'earth', and *ṭakaš* 'star'. Another lot end in *a*, *i*, and *u*: *šukamuna* 'Nergal, god of the mid-day Sun', *burna* 'servant', *kamula* 'god of the waters', *kukla* 'servant'; *mali* and *meli* 'man, servant', *saripu* 'foot' and *ilulu* 'heaven'. Those in *aš* are noticeably mythic and cosmic: the Babylonian author explains the element *aš* as being identical with Kossaeen *iašu* 'land'. Since the same authority 'could scarcely have been a Pāṇini', whence did he obtain the apparently abstract stem form in *a*, which the Greek and Roman grammarians dodged all their lives? Again those ending in *i* and *u* are supposed to be given by the Babylonian author with Assyrian endings, an assumption which loosens the backbone of this bit of tradition in a pretty serious fashion. In general we may say, adopting the second half of Voltaire's well-known gibe, that the vowels count for nothing at all in these etymologies; that too, notwithstanding Scheftelowitz's grave attempt to make out a system of vocalism for the Kossaeen.

Scheftelowitz divides his matter into two main divisions: words which coincide phonetically and semantically with Indo-European words, and such as approach them closely. Surely there is a good deal of external resemblance, but if I remind my readers of Dr. McCurdy's effort to prove the identity of Indo-European and Shemitic (Aryo-Semitic speech, Andover, 1881), and many similar efforts before and after, they will readily assign the correct value to comparisons based upon lexical assonance. Under the first—and best—class figures *kamula* 'god of the waters' = Skt. *kamala* 'water'. What Sanskritist really knows the very late poetic color-word *kamala* in the sense of water? It occurs a single time in the Kirātārjunīya V 25, a semantic nonce-act of an ecstatic poet. Or *buriaš* 'lord' is said to be Skt. *bharus* 'lord', a very late gloss-word which occurs as one of the numberless epithets of Īva and Viṣṇu. There is also a word *burna* 'servant' which is identified with Lith. *bėrnas* 'servant'. Scheftelowitz places much emphasis upon this pair as containing the same root *bher* 'support' with really differentiating I. E. suffixes ('supporter' and 'supported'). But we note that the *u* in the radical syllable *bur* of both words, is altogether accidental and unfit from the I. E. point of view; that *buriaš* = *bharus* is not entitled to an *i*, whereas *šuriaš* = *sūryas* is; and that Lith. *bėrnas* from the evidence of *bernėlis* 'boy' and Goth. *barn* (Engl. *bairn*) means

'child, boy' in the sense of τέκνον 'born'. The semantic transition of words for 'boy' to words for 'servant' is familiar to every one, but the pair *buriaš-burna* is in this way no longer agent noun and passive participle: 'supporter', and 'supported'. I can scarcely agree to the view that *kukla* another word for 'servant' = Vedic *kimkara*, that *ulav* 'male child' = Aryan *arva* 'swift, heroic', or that *viriaš* 'earth' with a new assortment of vowels = *varas* 'expanse'. Stunning is the identification, 'without further ado', of Kossaeian *emi* 'to go, to go out' with Vedic *ēmi*, Greek *εἶμι*, Lith. *eimì* 'I go'. If that is correct we might, with equal propriety, derive English *emetica* from Vedic *ēmi*, Greek *εἶμι*, and Lith. *eimì* 'I go'.

Under the head of the less certain comparisons the identification of *nivgirab* (Delitzsch reads *nimgirab*) 'to spare' with Skt. *ni-vi-grabh* 'to receive cordially', or *śakaśalti* 'release' from Skt. *sañ-kṣar* 'to flow together', reminds us of periods in the universal study of language now long past. As a specimen of phonetic law, the author assumes for three cases a change of *r* to *n*: one of them is *nazi* 'shade' = Vedic *rājas* 'darkness', Gr. *ἔρεβος*, Goth. *riqis* 'twilight'; the other is *ianzi* or *ānzi* for *nāz* = Vedic *rāj*, Lat. *rēx*, and the third is *našbu* 'lion' = Vedic *ṛṣabhā* 'bull'. The interest of this phonetic law lies in its infinitesimal verisimilitude.

The Kossaeian proper names end most of them in *-aš*, and therefore resemble I. E. nouns of the second declension: *Karaīndaš*, *Karachardaš*, *Karaburiaš*, *Burnaburiaš*, *Ulavburiaš*, *Burašuriaš*, *Nazivaraddaš* or *Nazimaraddaš*, and *Nazibugaš*. Quite a good deal depends upon this point: the sanest conclusion seems to be, however, that *-aš* is in some cases the word for land, and that names with *-aš* have become typical for the Kossaeian dynasty. *Karaīndaš* is described as prince of the land of *Karduniaš* (*ka-ra-in-da-aš šar māt kar-du-ni-aš*);¹ the mere statement of this title renders it exceedingly unlikely that *Karaīndaš* is for *kara-nidhas* and means 'treasure of the army', *kara* being 'helper', or 'army' (cf. Goth. *harjis* 'army'), and *nidha* = Vedic *nidhi* 'treasure'. For, we may ask, where does the genitive *Karduniaš*, the name of the country, obtain its syllable *-aš*; or is there no etymological connection whatever between the endings of nom. *Karaīndaš* and gen. *Karduniaš*? *Burašuriaš*

¹ Delitzsch, p. 7.

cannot mean 'having the sun as his lord': the members of the compound would have to be reversed in order to justify this rendering. And the explanation of a number of these names as Kossaeen words with Babylonian construction, e. g. Nazi Varaddaš¹ as = Vedic *rajas vṛddhas* 'shade, i. e. protection, is Varaddaš, i. e., the god Adar', climbs the dizziest heights of fancy.

I am inclined to judge that Kossaeen is not Indo-European but Elamitic that has come under the influence of an old Persian dialect. The appearance of *bugaš* as the name of a god = Avestan *bagha*, Vedic *bhaga*, at any time and anywhere in Western Asia, is no more surprising than the spread of the Mithra-worship. The word *šuriaš* 'sun god' the 'swell' example among all these words, if its *aš* is not 'land,' and its *šur* sheer accident, may also come from some Old Iranian dialect, whose character will be discussed more conveniently below. And so perhaps one or the other proper names, like *šuvālia*, *šuzigaš*, etc. The element *burna*, especially, suggests the Iranian stem *farnan̄h*, very common in proper names reported by the Greeks: *Φαρνάβαζος*, *Φαρνάσπα*, *Ἀριφάρνης*, *Τισσαφέρνης*, *Ἀρταφέρνης*, etc. Cf. Streck, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XV 356, note 1.

Scheftelowitz's presentation is a skilful, yet garish piece of special pleading from the point of view of both phonetics and semantics. As a matter of fact the small list of Kossaeen words, reported by a stranger to the language in an amorphous condition, leaves the Kossaeen problem much where it was nearly 20 years ago, with a slightly increased chance of its being Elamitic, because Scheftelowitz's heroic effort to vindicate for it Indo-European character seems to me to have failed; because it is not Shemitic; and because from Elam came the Kossaeans. Still, as far as the existing materials go, it may be any other kind of language.

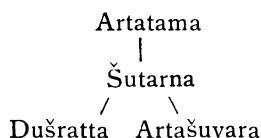
Another claimant to Indo-European membership has arisen in the North-West of Mesopotamia, in the people of the Mitani, situated on both sides of the upper Euphrates, the region called Aram-Naharaim in the Old Testament.² The discovery at Tel-el-Amarna, in Upper Egypt, of tablets containing letters

¹ Cf. Haupt, The language of Nimrod the Kashite, *Andover Review*, July, 1884, pp. 88 ff.

² See Winckler, *Die Völker Vorderasiens*, in the Series, *Der Alte Orient*, Erster Jahrgang, 1900, pp. 21 ff.

from kings of Babylonia, Assyria, Mitani, Phoenicia, and Canaan to Egyptian Pharaohs has thrown new light on the history of Western Asia and Cuneiform science; the emergence into history of the Mitani and their language seems to be the most important part of the discovery. The letters from Mitani are all of them written by a king Dušratta to Egyptian Pharaohs; they are with one exception written in Assyrian. This one letter reveals the native language of Mitani, and, once more, Scheftelowitz has set up the claim that it is Indo-European.

In the Assyrian letters there are four proper names, Artatama, Artasuvara, Šutarna, and Dušratta, whose I. E. character is self-evident. In the Tel-el-Amarna letters dating from Canaan there are quite a number of others, notably Artamanya, Yašdata, Rucmánya, Šuwardata, Šutatna, and Šatiya, which, along with the name Aryok = Skt. *āryaka*, Genesis 14. 1, certainly appear to be Indo-European. It is important to note, however, that the Mitani letters contain names of a decidedly non-Aryan physiognomy. From Winckler's edition of the Tel-el-Amarna letters, and in his own transcription, I gather the following: King Dušratta has a sister Giluhipa, and a daughter Taduhipa; he sends to Egyptian Pharaohs envoys, presumably Mitanians, named Gilia, Tunipipri, Hamašši, Perizzi, Bubri, and Mazipalali. Scheftelowitz fails to point this out, yet it contains the key to the situation. The four clearly Aryan names in the Mitani letters are strictly dynastic male names: Dušratta, his brother Artasuvara, his father Šutarna, and his grandfather, Artatama:



Nothing clearer can be imagined: on the one hand an Aryan dynasty with Aryan names rules in Mitani; on the other hand there is no indication of Aryan nomenclature outside of this dynasty. I may mention that the divinities of the Assyrian Mitani letters are certainly not Aryan: gods, Šamaš, Tišub, and Ammon; goddesses, Ištar, and Belit. The conditions of the non-Assyrian Mitani letters are much the same, except that there is one Iranoid name of a messenger, Artešuppa, who may have belonged to the dynasty. Otherwise there are mentioned

Dušratta, his father Šutarna, and his grandfather Artatama. Dušratta's daughter occurs again as Tatuhepa; his messengers, in addition to Artešuppa, are Giliaš, and Ašali; the divinities are Tešup, Ammon, Šauškaš, Šimigine, and Eašarrina.

Turning to the Mitani language as contained in the non-Assyrian letter of Dušratta, there are a few words which in their naked lexical state might be Indo-European well enough, as might indeed some of the dictionary words of any language at all. Scheffelowitz counts 13 all told, two of which, to begin with, should have been left out: *atta* 'father' and *avati* 'grandfather' belong to the 'laletic' nursery products of all peoples. For *avati* the text has, moreover *ammati*, if we are to trust Messerschmidt's and Sayce's renderings.¹ That these words are not bedded in I. E. roses can be seen from the way in which they appear in column iii, lines 58 and 59, of the Mitani-letter:

Messerschmidt:

58. *am-ma-ti-ip-pi-uš at-ta-ip-pi-uš at-ta-ip-pa pi-e-pi ma-ka-a-an-na*
My-grandfather (and) my father to thy father (and) thee presents
59. *gi-pa-a-nu-lu-u-uš-ta-a-aš-še-na.*
have sent.

Sayce:

58. *ammati-ppi-us atta-ippi-u-s atta-i-pa pēpi makanna*
My grandfather (and) my father to thy father on the day presents
59. *giṣānu-lū-stā-ssena.*
gave.

This passage contains two other words which Scheffelowitz regards as I. E.: *makana* 'gift' which he compares with Vedic *magha* 'gift' and *giṣan* 'give' (Messerschmidt, 'send'). But what is the value of such assonances when we look at column ii, l. 54 where Messerschmidt reads and translates *ma-ka-a-an-ni-ip-pi-u-un-na gi-pa-a-ni-e-ta* 'will send as my present'. According to Messerschmidt the derivatives of *giṣan* are as follows:

- gi-pa-a-nu-u-ša-a-aš-še*, 'he has sent'.
gi-pa-a-nu-u-ša-a-aš-še-na, 'they have sent'.
gi-pa-a-ni-e-ta, 'he will send'.
gi-pa-a-ni-e-ta-am-ma-ma-an, 'he will send'.

¹ Messerschmidt, *Mitanni-Studien*, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1899, pp. 175 ff.; Sayce, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1900, Vol. XXII, p. 171 ff.

gi-pa-a-nu-ša-a-uš-še-na, 'I have sent'.

gi-pa-a-nu-lu-u-uš-ta-a-aš-še-na, 'they have sent'.

gi-pa-a-nu-ul-ul-li-e-pi-a-at-ta-a-an, of uncertain meaning.

All this is not I. E., but agglutinative; moreover Scheffelowitz is obviously beguiled by the external similarity between Goth. *giban* and *gipan* without realizing that the syllable *-an* in the Gothic word belongs only to the infinitive, whereas in Mitani the syllable *-an* is rigid, and seems to belong to the lexical part of the word: the illusion is like that of comparing Kossaeian *emi* 'to go' with Greek *εἶμι* etc.; see above, p. 6. Of other comparisons that of *pir* = *bhar* 'carry' is doubtful even as regards the sense of *pir*; Messerschmidt, pp. 206 and 303, translates and argues in favor of 'know'; Sayce, Proc. of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch. 1900, p. 200, says the last word in favor of 'receive'.

The root *kat* 'communicate' is not Skt. *kath* 'narrate' because the latter is a late denominal from the pronominal adverb *kathā* 'how' (lit. 'to tell how'): Whitney very properly omits it from his list of Sanskrit roots. But instead of looking for weak points in these lexical equations we may simply refer to Messerschmidt's grammatical sketch (p. 270 ff.) and his word list (p. 296 ff.). A language that says *šuš* for 'I', *peš* for 'thou', *šala* for 'daughter', *tatukar* for 'love', *tiša* for 'heart', *te-u-u-na-e* for 'much' is not likely to be Indo-European. The same language has a nominative in *l*: *Gilia-l-an*; expresses the pronominal adjective 'mine' by adding *ippiuš*: *e. g. alta-ippiuš* 'my father', and the like.

The presence of Iranian names in Mitani and other Western Asia records seems to point to very early Persian satrapies, or to Persian dynasties which had obtained lodgement in Western Asia by conquest, dynastic inheritance, or diplomacy. We are reminded of the Manchu rulers of China, the Varangian Norsemen as founders of the present Russian dynasty, or the four Georges in England. For I. E. history these names are of curious interest. If the Mitani dynasty dates back to 1600 B. C. we have in these names the earliest direct record of I. E. chronology, apparently in a form which is at once Iranian and Pre-Iranian, i. e. they reflect a language which is Post-Aryan, or later than the common Indo-Iranian period, but which seems to precede the individual development of the Iranian dialects. The Post-Aryan character of the language seems to be guaranteed by the word *Arta*—which appears in many East Persian proper names and in Avestan *aša*. The sound *ar* represents here the vowel *ṛ* of Vedic *ṛta*, and

points to common Iranian. On the other hand they seem to precede the Iranian dialects, because initial *s* before vowels is not changed to *h* as is the case in all Iranian dialects of historical times. With all the desperate slipperiness of the ground it does seem likely that initial *s* in the names Šutarna, Šatiya, Šutatna, Šuwardata, etc., represents I. E. and Aryan *s*. The point becomes more significant if we remember that later Cuneiform records seem to render West Persian names beginning with *h* = Aryan *s* with total omission of the *h*. Esarhaddon (B. C. 680–668) mentions his victories over two chiefs named Šitirparna and Eparna. The first of these is either *cithrafarna* = Τῖ(σ)σαφέρης, or *khšathrafarna*; the second seems = Old Persian *hu-farna* = Avestan *hu-hwarenañh* ‘having brilliant lustre’, ‘illustrious’. Similarly Avarparna = *hware-farna* ‘bright as the sun’ omits initial Old Persian *h* = Aryan *s*.

It is possible, however, that the Mitani and other Western Asiatic Iranoid proper names come from a dialect closely allied to Iranian, but yet not exactly Iranian, i. e. a dialect which did not change *s* to *h*. From such a dialect may come also Kossaeen *šuriaš* and a few other words Kossaeen proper loan-words; see above, p. 7. The Median language of which Herodotus reports *σπάκα* ‘dog’ was surely I. E. and certainly, by the very terms of *σπάκα*, closely allied to Iranian. On a broken prism belonging to the Annals of Sargon II, there is a list of Median countries and their princes among which figures the province Musana whose prince is Sutirna. In the Tel-el-Amarna letters 232 and 233 (Winckler’s edition) the same prince is called Šutarna of Mušihuna: he sends a request in abject language to some Pharaoh for an Egyptian garrison to protect his country. This name Šutarna, or Sutirna, is certainly identical with Šutarna of the Mitani dynasty, above, and therefore would seem to show *su* = Iranian *hu* at a period much later than the Mitani letter.¹ Possibly, therefore, the Mitani and Western names are Median, and, finishing the circle, Median is an Iranian dialect which does not change initial Aryan *s* to *h*. It would seem therefore well to leave the decision as to whether the Iranoid names of the Tel-el-Amarna letters are ordinary Iranian, or derived from a language closely allied to Iranian (Median?) to the future. But

¹ Note Rost’s doubtful comparison of Sutirna with Utirna, a Median province; see *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XV 353 and 356.

this doubtful element does not impair the least bit the clear result of my inquiry: there is no record of a new and independent I. E. language in the non-Assyrian Mitani letter, and in the Iranoid names of Western Asia recorded in the Tel-el-Amarna letters.

The third of the would-be I. E. languages is also found among the Tel-el-Amarna letters: it was spoken in Arzawa, or Arzapi, the latter being another possible reading. The location of this country is unknown. Northern Syria, Cyprus (Alašia in the Tel-el-Amarna letters) have been suggested, but the author of the most comprehensive treatise on the Arzawa, the Christiania Assyriologist, Knudtzon¹ places the land of Arzawa in eastern Cilicia or southern Kappadocia. There are two of these letters; in the longer one of them the Pharaoh Amenhotep III, who, according to present reckoning, dates from the 14th century B. C., carries on a correspondence with the Arzawa king Tarhundaraba. Knudtzon points out the noteworthy fact that the beginning of the name Tarhundaraba corresponds with numerous Cilician names of men and places which begin with *Ταρκυ-*, *Ταρκο-*, or *Τροκο-*, names like *Ταρκόνδημος*, *Ταρκύμβιος*, *Τροκοζάρμας*, etc., and bases upon that his geographic conclusion. Yet he does not fail to point out that the same type of name appears very widely elsewhere in Asia Minor and even outside of Asia Minor.

The Mitani dynasty with Iranoid names shows that conclusions of this sort when based upon dynastic names are not altogether safe: anyhow Knudtzon makes it the basis of his assumption that the Arzawa is akin to the dialect of the so-called Hatti, Hatians or Hettites; that both of these are I. E.; and that the other languages of Asia Minor that have names with *Tarku-* are Indo-European. I need scarcely remind the reader that the protagonist of Hettite study, Jensen, is the main source of the belief that Hettite is an I. E., quasi Pre-Armenian language, and that critics so careful as Winckler and Messerschmidt do not agree with him. Jensen's most recent summary of Hettite results, 'Hittitisch und Armenisch', IF. XIV, Anzeiger, p. 47, does not seem to me as convincing as to its author;² at any rate the attempt to

¹ J. A. Knudtzon, *Die zwei Arzawa-Briefe*, Leipzig, 1902. Cf. Horn, *Anzeiger für Indogermanische Sprach- und Altertumskunde*, Vol. XV, p. 1; Kretschmer, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, March 28, 1903, column 778 ff.

² See Winckler, *Der Alte Orient*, Erster Jahrgang, 1900, p. 20.

elucidate Arzawa by assuming connection with other languages of Asia Minor is at present an effort to clear up *obscurum per obscurius*.

Dr. Knudtzon has called in the aid of his two colleagues, Professors Bugge and Torp, both distinguished scholars, both deeply interested in the remoter and more problematic I. E. languages. After Knudtzon's concrete treatment of the letters come Bugge and Torp with 'Remarks on the Arzawa letters'. The nature of the claim that Arzawa is I. E. may be illumined best by Torp's statement (p. 108): 'The language shows its I. E. character in its forms. But, as it seems, only in its forms. We should expect the lexical materials to be equally I. E., but are disappointed this expectation. Both nouns and verbs are opaque and cannot be compared with I. E. words corresponding in meaning'. Torp explains this on the assumption of an uncommon influx of loan-words. Standard tests for Indo-European, such as the numerals, pronouns, the familiar verbs are excluded by the very terms of Torp's statement. And yet Knudtzon publishes his book under the sensational sub-title: 'The oldest documents in I. E. speech'. The situation would be a curious one: the oldest I. E. would happen to be farther removed from the reconstructed parent speech than the most modern dialect of Germany or India.

The larger letter begins with a kind of an address in Assyrian: 'Thus speaks Nimutria, the great king, king of Egypt, to Tarhundaraba, king of Arzawa'. This is followed by two correlated passages, in the first of which sundry Assyrian words for houses, women, children, warriors, countries etc., mixed into the Arzawa text, are furnished with the ending *mi*; in the second the same words are furnished with the ending *ti*. After the analogy of the abundant Assyrian Tel-el-Amarna letters it is evident that the sender states in one of the parallel passages that it is well with him, his houses, women, etc., in the other he expresses the wish that it may go well with the recipient of the letter, his women, etc. The second of the parallel passages, in which the affix *ti* appears contains the additional word *e-eš-tu* (*ēštu*); this Knudtzon identifies with Gr. *ἔστω* (I. E. *estōd*) 'may it be'; he concludes furthermore that *ti* in the same passage means 'thine', and that, consequently, *mi* in the first passage means 'mine'. A form Labbaian is probably a caseform of a nominative Labbaia (where *s* is lost): Knudtzon assumes *an* to be an accusative corresponding to I. E. forms in *m*. In addition he seems to

have found a genitive in *-aš*, and some forms which he regards as verbs ending in *-t*, in *-un*, and in *-ndu*.

The repetition of *mi* and *ti* after each word, so that the series 'thy houses, thy women, thy children, thy warriors, thy horses, thy wagons, thy lands' is rendered by *bitzunti dammešti turmešti . . . zabmešti kurrazunti bi-ib-bi-it-ti kurzunti*, to begin with, seems to me not Indo-European, but either Shemitic or Agglutinative. The stems themselves are confessedly not I. E. but Shemitic: if *mi* and *ti* really express 'mine' and 'thine'—the reverse, notwithstanding *e-eš-tu*, is not altogether impossible—we seem to have one of those mischievous accidents which we may call the standard snag of universal linguistic comparisons. The comparison of *e-eš-tu* with I. E. *estōd* is not as compelling as Knudtzon assumes, because of the initial vocalism.¹ So long as the statement 'To thee I have caused to bring a pitcher of gold as a present for thee' reproduces Arzawian *ka-a-aš-ma-ta up-pa-ah-hu-un 1 su-ha-la-li-ia azag-gi-aš dmq-an-ta*, or, so long as *zi-in-nu-uk hu-u-ma-an-da* is supposed to mean 'send thou abundantly' we shall hardly feel justified in counting the Arzawian among the treasured minor I. E. languages.

The Tel-el-Amarna letters have increased the scope and importance of Cuneiform science. Since Grotefend's decipherment of the syllabic Indo-European Achemenidan, or Old Persian, no less than eight languages in wedge character have been discovered, and are in a more or less advanced state of decipherment:

1. Achemenidan, or Old Persian.
2. Elamite (Amardian, Neo-Susian), the second variety of Persian Cuneiform.
3. Assyro-Babylonian.
4. Sumerian or Sumero-Accadian.
5. Kassian or Kossaeen.
6. Vannic, or Armenian Cuneiform of Van, of problematic character.²
7. Mitani.
8. Arzawian.

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¹ Cf. Kretschmer, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, March 28, 1903, column 780.

² See Winckler, *Der Alte Orient*, Erster Jahrgang, p. 28; Sayce, *A Primer of Assyriology*, p. 36.